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ABSTRACT

An outgrowth of a larger research study entitled "Ethnic Differences in Levels of Aspiration", this thesis examined 645 Mexican American high school juniors and seniors in the southern portion of Colorado to determine if geographical isolation from the dominant culture and their high population proportion served to sustain their traditional cultural ties. The study focused on analysis of acculturational opportunities, ethnic cultural retention, and mobility aspirations of Mexican Americans sampled by the larger study. The major conclusion of the study was that acculturational differentials do not account for meaningful differences in mobility. This conclusion questioned the cultural explanation of differential achievement and suggested that Mexican Americans may accept the values concerned with high achievement and recognize the desirability of rewards, but because they have poor educational opportunities and lack affluence, they experienced certain obstacles in reaching desired occupations. Further research was needed for mobility orientations as they relate to class standing. Findings were limited since only those persons who were relatively isolated from the dominant culture and lived in socioeconomically homogeneous areas were studied. (HBC)

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# ETHNICITY AND MOBILITY ORIENTATIONS: A STUDY OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS OF SOUTHERN COLORADO

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

November, 1972

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

### ETHNICITY AND MOBILITY ORIENTATIONS: A STUDY OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS OF SOUTHERN COLORADO

Data analyzed in this study are from questionnaire responses of 645 Mexican American high school students from schools in southern Colorado. The sample included both males and females at the junior and senior levels.

The literature review includes theories which attempt to explain differential acculturation on the one hand and theories which attempt to explain differentials in mobility orientations in terms of differential acculturation on the other.

In the first instance, hypotheses were derived which included: 1) the existence of a positive relationship between geographic isolation and ethnic cultural retention; and 2) the existence of a positive relationship between ethnic dominance and ethnic cultural retention. Ethnic cultural retention was measured by a scale developed for that purpose. The hypotheses were supported by low but significant relationships in each case.

In the second instance, hypotheses included: 1) a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and prestige level of occupational aspirations; 2) a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and self concept of ability; and 3) a positive relationship between ethnic cultural retention and Shannon's World View Scale. A significant relationship was found only in the case of the first hypothesis and even this was extremely low ($r = .09$).

The major conclusion of the study is that acculturational differentials do not account for meaningful differences in mobility and thus brings the cultural explanation of differential achievement into question. It is recognized, however, that cultural patterns other than the attitudinal one considered here may serve to retard achievement.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

> In any human society men rarely, if ever, accept all others as social equals. . . they build into their social structures those inequalities of material and psychic assets that set some off from others in persistent distinctions of higher and lower rank (McKee, 1969: 246).

Weber maintained that "the stratification of persons and social units is essentially a problem in the allocation of power. . . power distribution within the economic sphere. . . is a rational process of class differentiation" (Truzzi, 1971: 195). Weber envisoned a broadened "vision" of the dimensions of stratification and discussed three major dimensions: class, status groups, and parties. Class was an economic differentiation to Weber; he stated that "the basic condition of class lay in the unequal distribution of economic power and hence to the unequal distribution of opportunity" (Bendix, 1962: 86). He saw status groups as an extension of class and stated that they were "communities consisting in a plurality of persons whose life fate is determined by a specific positive or negative social estimation of honor" (Martindale, 1960: 392). To Weber, then, the "life-chances" of persons are not equal and this differential "distribution of life-chances creates stratification; those who share the same set of life-chances are a stratum among several strata" (McKee, 1969: 249).

Although it has long been general sociological knowledge that within the social stratification system differential rewards accrue to the different positions occupied by members of society, the American ethos

reflects that there should be equal access to all positions in the American system. However, sociological research has shown that different structural groupings in American society do not in fact have equal access to these positions. One body of explanations for this phenomenon lie in the study of intergroup relations or majority-minority relations. It has been maintained that discrimination by the majority group against the minority group limits the access of the minority group to certain positions which are considered desirable both by the majority and minority groups (Brussells, 1968).

Although some sociologists maintain that achievement differentials between the two groups are associated with discrimination, one must not hastily conclude that achievement differentials are solely responsible for differential access. Heller (1966) indicates that rather, the differential access to desired positions is the result of differential cultural support for mobility by the different societal groupings.

If Heuer and others are correct, ethnic cultural characteristics should directly influence mobility orientations which would in turn reduce the level of achievement. If we take such a theory as valid, it would then logically follow that differentials in mobility orientations should be associated with differentials in acculturational opportunities or conversely, with ethnic cultural retention.

If we assume the existence of such a relationship, we then need an explanation of differential acculturation in order to account for differential mobility orientations. Current theories suggest that ethnic cultural retention is related to certain acculturation-retarding variables, specifically, geographic isolation and ethnic dominance. The major emphasis of this thesis then is with determining what relationships,

if any, exist between ethnic dominance and geographical isolation and ethnic cultural retention and, in turn, between ethnic cultural retention and mobility orientations.

In this thesis, I have chosen to examine a population of high school juniors and seniors in the southern portion of Colorado who are of "Mexican-American"* ethnic heritage to determine if their geographical isolation from the mainstream of dominant culture and their high proportion of the total population of southern Colorado serve to sustain their traditional cultural ties. The Mexican-Americans have a diverse cultural background. The present Mexican-Americans of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado "are descendents of early settlers who moved North from Mexico during the reconquest of New Mexico from the Indians by Diego de Vargas in 1692" (Knowlton, 1961: 448). Living now within about a 150-mile radius of Santa Fe, New Mexico, "they form a compact socioeconomic cultural grouping in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico distinct in culture, ethnic composition, and language from other Spanish-speaking groups in the United States" (Knowlton, 1961: 448). This distinctive culture was gradually developed due to isolation from European settlements.

According to Gonzalez (1967) Mexican-Americans today are becoming increasingly concerned with economic achievement and appear to be making gains in higher education as well as in the adoption of some of the Anglo values concerned with economic success. But, in spite of these

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* Since no one term includes all of those persons of Hispanic cultural origins, I shall refer to members of this group as "Mexican-Americans" realizing the heterogeneity of the cultural group as a whole.

"hypothesized changes, the Mexican-Americans have consistently held to their traditional cultural patterns in many respects" (Merkin, 1972: 11). It is my contention that this retention of traditional cultural ties has affected the mobility orientations of the Mexican-American people.

I shall first attempt to show that geographical isolation from the mainstream of dominant culture and ethnic dominance, or a relatively high ethnic proportion of a population, are indices of acculturational opportunities and are related to the ethnic cultural retention of the Mexican American group. It is expected that the degree of retention of ethnic cultures will in turn affect the mobility orientations within the group. In other words, it is expected that the higher the degree of ethnic cultural retention experienced, the lower the mobility orientations will be.

The next chapter will discuss the theoretical orientation behind our assumptions that differential degrees of geographical isolation and ethnic dominance will affect the degree of ethnic cultural retention in the Mexican-American group; and that the degree of ethnic cultural retention will affect in turn, their mobility orientations. Selected literature supporting this orientation will be reviewed.

## CHAPTER II

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, I propose to pursue through the literature the conceptual orientation relating to the acculturation opportunities of ethnic groups in general and the Mexican-Americans in particular. My intent is to show that differential acculturation opportunities affect a group's ethnic cultural retention which in turn affects their mobility orientations. Selected literature available on assimilation and acculturation, ethnic culture, and mobility orientations is reviewed with emphasis placed on the Mexican-Americans as an ethnic group. Based on this conceptual framework and review of literature, hypotheses are formulated for testing.

### Definition of Terms

Before we begin discussion of the theoretical framework that lies in the background of this study, it is necessary at this point to clarify certain terms which are used extensively in this thesis. Two important concepts which need to be clarified are: minority group and ethnic group. McKee (1969) states that the term minority group is usually used to designate "those members of society who cannot participate fully and equally in all phases of social life because of race, religion, or national origin." An ethnic group can be differentiated from the term minority group by acknowledging that it is one of several types of minority groups. Ethnic groups can be categorized in that their visibility stems from

cultural rather than racial criteria (McKee, 1969). When we speak of an ethnic group then, we are speaking of a group that has retained certain cultural characteristics different from those of the dominant group.

Madsen (1964) indicates that most of the Hispano ethnic group are in one of three phases of acculturation. Those in the first phase would experience the highest level of ethnic cultural retention in that the core values of their traditional folk culture are retained but in a modified form due to the sociogeographic setting. Members of the second phase are marginal in that they are caught between the values of the two cultures and try to live by both systems. Those in the third phase are the most acculturated in that they experience little dissonance with the dominant culture. This thesis is attempting to determine if there are significant differences in the mobility orientations among those Mexican-Americans who have a higher or lower ethnic culture retention.

With these terms clarified, let us now turn to a more in-depth discussion of acculturation and assimilation and some of the theories that have been advanced concerning the assimilation of minority groups into the dominant culture.

## General Theories of Assimilation

The first major impact in the theory of immigrant absorption was made by Robert E. Park. Park (1950) analyzed the functioning of society in terms of five major interactional processes: 1) conflict, whereby one group seeks to damage or destroy the other; 2) competition, where groups are still in opposition but act in accordance with rules which prohibit coercion; 3) accommodation, a process which seeks to lessen the tensions of conflict; 4) cooperation, a type of interaction which facilitates the

achievement of the goals of both groups; and 5) assimilation, whereby the two groups are merged into one. His orientation led him to see dominant-minority relations as being cyclical in nature. Going through each of the phases in turn, the minority would eventually be assimilated into the dominant culture. Marsden and Meyer (1968: 436-438) feel, however, if one "is interested in the continuing structured relationships between dominants and minorities, the basic terms which need to be agreed upon are those describing stabilized forms of adaption, and goals, of minorities in their minority status: accommodation, acculturation, assimilation." They stress that in accommodation the minority makes adjustments to conditions over which they have no control. They also make note of the fact that assimilation of the minority depends not on the acceptance of the dominant group by the minority group, but rather that assimilation rests on the dominant group agreeing to accept the minority group.

S. N. Eisenstadt, another pioneer in the field of immigrant absorption, felt that "the level of absorption is a consequence of interaction between the immigrant's aspirations, which are achievable in social roles, and the opportunities the social structure provides for their realization" (Jones, 1956: 41). He saw absorption as a step-wise process containing three phases: 1) acculturation, where the immigrant began to identify with the values, roles, and norms of the new culture; 2) personal adjustment, whereby deviance is lessened and the realities of the dominant group are perceived with consonance rather than dissonance, and 3) institutional dispersion, the concentration or dispersion of the immigrants within the different societal institutions of the dominant group (Merkin, 1972: 7). He felt that the greater the similarity between the cultures

of the dominant group and the immigrant group, the greater the degree of assimilation would take place.

A more refined framework for viewing immigrant absorption is offered by Milton M. Gordon (1964) who saw absorption as having seven major phases or conditions. The first phase is cultural assimilation or acculturation where the minority group begin to change their cultural patterns to fit those of the dominant group. In the second phase, structural assimilation, the minority group gains entrance into primary relations with the dominant group on a large scale. The third phase of amalgamation consists of large scale intermarriage between the minority and the dominant group. In the fourth stage, a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society develops. The absence of prejudice characterizes the fifth stage of attitude receptional assimilation and in the sixth stage of behavior receptional assimilation, discrimination is also absent. In the final stage, civic assimilation, value and power conflicts cease. Gordon maintains that the processes of assimilation are primarily a matter of degree and that each of the above phases may occur simultaneously and in varying degrees. He feels that some minority groups never get beyond the phase of acculturation and tend to remain in that phase indefinitely.

Mario Chiari (1966), in reviewing current Italian literature concerning immigrant absorption, found three basic theoretical trends which he sees as adding to American theoretical models. The model of cultural distance hypothesizes that "the difficulties of integration of an immigrant are greater in relation to the greater differences between the society of origin and that of adoption, considering the aspects of both social and cultural structure." In the model of anticipatory

socialization, primary emphasis is given to the personalistic side of absorption, the anomic situation created by the contrasting norms which create conflict even though the immigrant has some knowledge of the new culture being entered. The third model of integrated mobility gives special reference to the role of mass communications.

Each of the above theories, if they are to be of value, must be viewed within the context of some goal, be it that of the minority group or that of the dominant group. Gordon (1964) cites three major goals of the assimilation process which have at different times in history been popular. The first of these trends he calls Anglo-conformity. Here the goal "demands complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group." Inherent in this goal are the notions of nativism and anglo-superiority. It is his feeling that this goal has been fairly well achieved in society with regard to acculturation. The goal of the second trend he defines as the "biological merger of the Anglo Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type." He sees this melting pot notion as containing three pots based on the different religions. The goal of the third trend, cultural pluralism, is the "preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political integration into American society." He maintains that in American society, structural pluralism is the prevailing situation.

Along these same lines, Glazer and Moynihan (1963) feel that none of the three goals, and in particular the melting pot notion, accurately describe the situation. They maintain that although through time ethnic

groups change, each new generation brings about a recreation of the group. The form of the group may vary but will maintain its social visibility as an ethnic group.

With these theories in mind then, let us now turn our attention to two factors in particular which we consider to be indices of the acculturational opportunities of an ethnic group: geographical proximity to the dominant culture or geographical isolation, and ethnic dominance or the proportion of dominants to ethnics in a population.

## Acculturational Opportunities

Transmittal of cultural values is largely accomplished through the process of socialization. The various agents of socialization, namely, the family on the primary level and society with its various institutions on the secondary level, have as their main responsibility, the transmittal of those cultural patterns and traits that are deemed desirable by the society at large. How a member or group of members is viewed by society is for the most part determined by how well he or they have incorporated these values into his or their style of life.

In the case of minorities, the agents of socialization are two-fold: there are those groups in the minority community who feel that the desirable cultural traits are those of the ethnic community while members of the dominant culture maintain that in order to be "good" citizens, the minorities should incorporate into their style of life those values of the dominant culture and give up the values of the smaller ethnic community.

The values to which one is socialized is in this way related to one's group membership. Different economic and social strata are socialized

to accept different sets of values. Wilson (1966: 335) states that: "Members of different. . .strata, as groups, adhere to differing values which reinforce their respective statuses. . .(and) through familial socialization and divergent perception of their opportunities these aspirations are transmitted to the younger generation."

## Geographical Isolation and Ethnic Dominance

While socialization within strata tends to preserve the values of that strata and reinforce present class standing, adherence to traditional cultural ethnic values comes not only through socialization into minority group membership (Fishman, 1961) but also through isolation from the mainstream of dominant culture. Geographical isolation limits the amount and type of interaction members of ethnic groups will have with the dominant culture. Another important aspect which is related to geographical isolation is ethnic homogeneity of the community. A highly ethnically homogeneous community also lessens the potential for interaction with the dominant culture. Fitzpatrick (1966) supports the above notion by maintaining that the more homogeneous the community, the less likely are divergent values to be incorporated into the life style of those peoples. Geographical isolation and ethnic dominance serve then to impede interaction with the dominant culture and in turn retard transmittal of the dominant values of the larger society. Shibutani (1965) notes that ethnic islands develop distinctive cultures and that members of the minority tend to congregate in areas where they can follow traditional customs and speak their own language. Gordon (1964) also supports this notion by stating that if a minority is spatially isolated, the acculturation process is retarded. Breton (1969) points out that if the

ethnic community is institutionally complete, that is, the social organization does not depend on the larger culture for its sustenance, integration or assimilation into the larger culture will be retarded. Borhek (1970) in a study of Ukranians-Canadians hypothesized that increasing social differentiation was associated with increasing primary relations outside the original group and with a lack of enthusiasm for the ethnic culture. He found that while education was the most important factor, homogeneity of the community influenced the degree of enthusiasm for the ethnic culture. The more ethnically homogeneous the community was found to be, the greater was the enthusiasm for the ethnic culture. Zenner (1967) also maintained that assimilation was affected by the internal homogeneity of and ties between the ethnic group and other groups.

Given the above orientation, we can posit that along with other factors, geographical isolation and ethnic dominance (ethnic homogeneity) serve to reinforce the retention of ethnic culture of the ethnic group by limiting the interaction an ethnic group will have with the dominant culture. The next section discusses what is meant by the concept, ethnic cultural retention.

## Ethnic Cultural Retention

The concept ethnic cultural retention refers to the degree to which members have retained distinctive cultural characteristics enabling their being identified with the Mexican-American subculture. The more acculturated a group is, the less it is expected to retain such identifiable subcultural attributes and to identify with its subculture. It has long been held by sociologists that language and religion are important

components in ethnic cultural retention in that when the language spoken is the mother tongue and the religion adhered to is that of the mother country, identifiability as an ethnic group member will be greater.

Language

Much of the literature in the area of sociolinguistics and sociology seems to support the notion that language is a valid indicator of ethnic identity with one's own group. In particular, Kroeber (1964) cites that "language is easily the most nearly autonomous, self-consistent, and self-contained unit which is discernable within the totality of culture." Christian and Christian (1966) maintain that language and culture form "the basic orientation toward reality of any given person or group of persons." Shibutani (1965: 59) states that "people in a given ethnic category are culturally distinct, then, only to the extent that they participate together in exclusive communication channels." He maintains that "to the extent that members of different ethnic groups speak different languages, they develop separate perspectives. People who live in the same community may experience identical events quite differently, if they are oriented toward their environment with different vocabularies." Empirical investigators too (cf. Lambert, 1966; Hayden; 1966; Kloss, 1966; and Fishman, 1966) tend to associate language with ethnicity and ethnic culture. However, as Patella (1969) points out, we must be careful in making this assumption. The results of her research indicated that in general, language usage cannot be used as a valid indicator of ethnic identity and that "culture and language interact differently for different individuals." She does point out, however, that in the case of Mexican-Americans, "the mobility orientations. . .may well

be affected by their perception of the role their language usage can play in the successful realization of their aspirations." Kuvlesky and Patella (1971) "suggest that future researchers attempting to measure degree of identification with the Mexican-American subculture consider dimensions of the social fabric other than, or in addition to, language (i.e., religion, participation in celebrations, attitudes, etc.)."

Religion

Religion has also been long thought to play an important part in ethnic cultural retention. Gordon (1964) cites that most Mexican-Americans have not been integrated into what he calls "pan-Catholicism" but rather still cling to the ethnic communal type of catholicism. He cites the importance of the ethnic church in maintaining the ethnic community as a viable and cohesive subsystem and feels that in some communities, religion may serve as a useful index of ethnic identity. Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961) also cite the importance of religion in the everyday life of the Mexican-American although they note that the Mexican-American conception of religion is a broad one. Marsden and Mayer (1968) maintain that religion reflects the history of any group and that where "a particular religion has dominated and pervaded a whole national group, ethnicity and religion seem inseparable." In his research, Breton (1964) found that religious institutions ranked the highest of the three types of institutions he studied (churches, welfare organizations, and newspapers and periodicals) in "keeping the immigrant's personal associations within the boundaries of the ethnic community." He feels that religion provides "a raison d'etra for the ethnic community and a motivation for identification with it."

The cited literature suggests that we should find that lowered acculturational opportunities (as indexed by high geographic isolation and high ethnic dominance) results in a higher retention of ethnic culture. As discussed in the first chapter, we have reason to expect that higher ethnic culture retention results in lower mobility orientations among the Mexican-Americans. This second concern is examined not prior to the empirical testing of these expected relationships.

## Mobility Orientations

This section is concerned with three mobility orientations which are hypothesized to be affected by the degree of ethnic cultural retention experienced by the Mexican-Americans: self concept, world view, and level of occupational aspirations.

### Self concept

Cooley, in his concept of "looking glass self," stated that we all go through a process "of imagining how we appear in the eyes of others, depending on what judgments or responses those others make, and of then feeling mortified or pleased or whatever about this" (McKee, 1969: 96). Self concept then taken in this light, refers to an individual's perception (based on response from others) of his general worth and his ability to be successful in his endeavors. The more positive one's self image, the more positive becomes his perception of general worth and ability.

Discrimination and negative stereotyping by the dominant group "engenders a negative self image which in turn leads to withdrawal from the dominant society" (Cole, 1972: 28). This negative self image tends then to affect the minority group's response toward others and their

attitudes toward the dominant group (Cole, 1972: 28). Ulibarri (1968) cites that in general Mexican-Americans see themselves as persecuted and withdraw into their traditional culture where they receive some support. This lack of self-confidence in turn hampers the minority group: perception of opportunity is blocked and certain forms of alienation become prevalent (Seeman, 1959). One form of alienation which prevails when the image of self is negative is that of powerlessness or lack of belief that one can control certain events. Cole (1972) notes that discrimination brings about a certain sense of powerlessness. A second form of alienation brought about by a negative self image is that of meaninglessness: the individual feels that his life has no meaning and that regardless of what he does no one cares. As a result of this negative self image, the Mexican-American tends to feel "uncomfortable, unsure, inadequate and usually performs at a substandard level. . . . Rather than face possible ridicule, or failure he often chooses not to attempt a job that is unfamiliar" (Bradish, 1969: 33). This behavior in turn reinforces the dominant group's negative stereotyping of the Mexican-American.

If, then, discrimination and stereotyping engenders a negative self image and leads to withdrawal into the ethnic culture, it is expected that those persons who show a high degree of ethnic cultural retention will have a negative image of themselves.

World view

One aspect which serves to distinguish Mexican-Americans from the dominant culture is their cultural values. The values held reflect how daily life is experienced and the manner with which the world is viewed.

Kluckhohn's (1961) theory of value orientations distinguishes three sets of values which have an impact on how different groups set about to solve the problems of human existence. The first set of value orientations range along a continuum from activistic to passivistic reflecting the perception of manipulative power over the forces of nature. The individualistic-collectivistic orientation reflects the importance placed on achievement over ties to the group while the present-future orientation reflects the attitude toward time and the importance of planning (Anderson, 1969: 4).

Through empirical research, Kluckhohn found evidence that the orientations toward solving the problems of human existence differed significantly between the Mexican-Americans and Anglos of New Mexico. The Mexican-American exemplified "a subjugation to nature orientation, a temporal focus on human life towards the present, the mode of self expression in activity of being, and an orientation towards others of lineality" (Delgado, 1970: 6). Heller noted that given the Mexican-American's loyalty to the group and his orientation towards the present, he acquires few of the dominant group's mobility orientations. She further notes that "the ethnic identity and sense of group loyalty, however praiseworthy in other grounds, encourage behavior in keeping with traditional values and norms -- and these may hamper mobility."

Given the above approach, the concept world view refers to "a person's perception of his own manipulative power versus the organization of the society or some more powerful determinant, his time perspective as oriented toward the present versus the future, and his hierarchy of values that places individual achievement against the ties to the group" (Shannon, 1968: 36).

Within the group then, some persons may hold a relatively active or passive world view. Given this orientation, it is hypothesized that those Mexican-Americans who have a greater ethnic culture retention will have a more passive world view in that they will not be the ones to actively initiate actions promoting changed life chances, and will be more group oriented.

Level of occupational aspirations

If we can posit from the above framework that those Mexican-Americans who have a generally negative self image and hold a relatively passive world view, have a high degree of ethnic cultural retention, it should then logically follow that the level of occupational aspirations would also be affected by ethnic culture retention. Level of occupational aspirations is part of a broader concept of level of aspirations and refers to a person's orientation toward the prestige dimension of the stratification system. More specifically, it refers to the orientation of one or more persons towards a goal.

To some degree, aspirations are "influenced by the agents of socialization and by perception of opportunities as defined by these agents" (Cole, 1972: 48). Kahl (1953) found that parental values had an effect on the occupational aspirations of the children in that children tend to adopt parental views concerning the availability of opportunities. Also, aspirations may be very much affected by the different orientations held. The Mexican-American, whose orientation lies with the present rather than the future, is less likely to be concerned with what his future occupation will be (Delgado, 1970: 8). Hayden (1966: 16) cites that since also the Mexican-American orientation places importance on

group goals and values, ". . .aspirations to achieve the Anglo's higher economic standards are likely to become stronger only if everyone in . . . neighborhood or at least everyone in the extended family will benefit."

Another important fact is how much self-confidence one has in his ability to be successful. Opportunities may be blocked and aspirations low because the Mexican-American has a sense of powerlessness, be it real or imagined.

Research in the area of occupational aspirations is inconclusive in supporting the above notion. While some research does indicate that values and status do influence occupational aspirations (cf. Heller, 1966; DeHoyos, 1961; and Sanchez, 1970), it has been generally found that class is more influential in determining the level of occupational aspirations of Mexican-American youth than is the ethnic factor.

## Summary and Hypotheses

The following iconic model is offered as a summary of the preceding theoretical orientation. Geographical isolation and ethnic dominance are expected to affect the degree of ethnic cultural retention, and the degree of ethnic cultural retention in turn is expected to affect the level of mobility orientations within the Mexican-American group.

As a result of this theoretical framework, the following hypotheses have been formulated for testing.

1. There will be a positive relationship between geographical isolation and ethnic cultural retention within the Mexican-American group.

2. There will be a positive relationship between ethnic dominance and ethnic cultural retention within the Mexican-American group.

3. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and mobility orientations within the Mexican-American group.

   3a. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and self concept within the Mexican-American group.

   3b. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and world view within the Mexican-American group.

   3c. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and level of occupational aspirations within the Mexican-American group.

# CHAPTER III

# METHODOLOGY

This thesis is an outgrowth of a larger research study entitled "Ethnic Differences in Levels of Aspiration" which was sponsored by the Colorado State University Faculty Improvement Committee. Current analysis of data from this study is being carried out with experiment station support as a part of Western Regional Project W-113. This project has as its overall objective the generation of comparative knowledge concerning the aspirations of Anglo and Mexican-American high school students in Southern Colorado. The major focus of the larger research study involves studying the differences in occupational aspirations by ethnic group of rural high school students including structural and attitudinal aspects believed to affect these aspirations. This thesis is attempting to contribute to the larger study by focusing on the analysis of the acculturational opportunities, ethnic cultural retention, and mobility aspirations of the Mexican-Americans sampled by the larger study.

## The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule was developed by three means: (1) question selection from existing schedules maintained by the project directors, (2) question selection from previously standardized questionnaires, in particular, those developed by William Kuvlevsky at Texas A & M University, A. O. Haller at the University of Wisconsin, and Walter Slocum at

Washington State University, and (3) questions developed by the research staff. The pretest of the first draft was conducted in Dr. Emmit F. Sharp's class, S 311, "Methods of Sociological Inquiry." Also, individual items were criticized by several high school students attending Fort Collins High School as well as by several faculty members. The second draft was administered to senior high school students in a Social Studies course at Fort Collins High School. After more revision, the third and final draft was administered to the junior and senior high school students in the eleven schools in southern Colorado. The schedules were administered by two graduate students from Colorado State University with the assistance of school personnel. Verbal directions were given to the students and each did several practice questions before self-administering the questionnaire. Total time of administration was approximately one hour and emphasis was placed on completeness of response rather than speediness of response.

The schedule was then coded and data punched onto IBM cards. Computations were made on the CDC 6400 digital computer located at Colorado State University.

## Data Sources and Collection

The population of Mexican-Americans of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado which we chose to study live within about a 150 mile radius of Santa Fe, New Mexico and form a distinct cultural grouping different from those Spanish-speaking groups that reside in other areas of the United States such as Texas and California.* Because of the

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* For a more complete discussion of this cultural group, refer to Chapter 1, page 3.

distinctiveness of cultural characteristics of this particular group, the results of this study are not necessarily generalizable to other Spanish-speaking groups.

The sample was purposive in nature and designed such that those schools selected would have at least a 20 per cent Mexican-American enrollment and would be located in areas remote from larger metropolitan areas. Originally, twenty-one schools in nine counties were selected for sampling, but due to scheduling difficulties, administrative problems and such, only eleven schools from seven counties were included in the final sample. Those counties included are generally economically depressed, have a relatively high out-migration rate, have a seasonal agricultural base, and have a high degree of poverty.

The administration of the interview schedule in the eleven schools yielded a sample of 1290. Included in this sample were male and female junior and senior high school students. Juniors and seniors were selected because they are nearest the stage where critical decisions must be made concerning future educational and/or occupational endeavors.

Since this thesis is concerned only with the Mexican-American students it was necessary to separate out those respondents who were Mexican-American. For purposes of this thesis, Gordon's (1964: 24) definition of ethnic identity was utilized. He defined ethnic identity as "a group with a shared feeling of peoplehood" and stated that this identity is made up of four components which contribute to this sense of peoplehood: national origin, race, religion, and nationality.

Two methods were utilized in selecting out the Mexican American sample to be utilized in this study. The first method entailed the use of the surname index published by the United States Census Bureau. If

there was a question as to a particular respondent's surname, a criterion list of Spanish surnames was referred to (Buechley, 1961). The second method was used as a check of reliability since Gonzales (1967) cites that two major sources of error may bias the sample. One source involves certain people having a Spanish surname yet not being of Spanish or Mexican heritage. These people would include Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Cubans. The second source stems from intermarriage with an Anglo male which would produce an Anglo surnamed individual who was of Spanish or Mexican heritage. To account for some of the unreliability which could result from the above two sources of error those people who had a Spanish surname or who self-identified themselves as of Spanish or Mexican heritage were chosen for inclusion in this study.

This selection process yielded a Mexican-American subsample of 667 and their distribution by school is shown in Table I. Due to nonresponse on the various variables under study, the original sample of 667 was reduced to 561 for purposes of this study.

"Table I about here"

## Indicators and Measurements

The following sections will consider each of the variables used in the study. Each of the variables used will be defined and the methods by which they were operationalized detailed.

### Acculturational opportunities

The acculturational opportunities of an ethnic group can be defined as those structural or non-manipulatable factors which influence the degree of ethnic cultural retention in an ethnic group. These structural features must be taken as given since they cannot change in a cross-sectional study such as this one. The two structural features studied in

Table I

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN, ANGLO, AND OTHERS BY SCHOOL

| High School Name | Municipality | County | Number of Mexican Americans* | Number of Anglos | Number of Others** | Percent Mexican American | Percent Anglo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aguilar | Aguilar | Las Animas | 7 | 18 | 7 | 22 | 56 |
| Alamosa | Alamosa | Alamosa | 71 | 166 | 11 | 29 | 66 |
| Antonito | Antonito | Conejos | 109 | 6 | 0 | 94 | 6 |
| Centauri | La Jara | Conejos | 72 | 79 | 1 | 47 | 52 |
| Centennial | San Luis | Costilla | 61 | 2 | 0 | 97 | 3 |
| Mountain Valley | Saguache | Saguache | 13 | 24 | 0 | 35 | 65 |
| Primero | Weston | Las Animas | 17 | 19 | 3 | 43 | 48 |
| Rocky Ford | Rocky Ford | Otero | 74 | 118 | 3 | 38 | 60 |
| Sierra Grande | Blanca | Costilla | 15 | 12 | 4 | 48 | 39 |
| Trinidad | Trinidad | Las Animas | 136 | 68 | 47 | 54 | 27 |
| Walsenburg | Walsenburg | Huerfano | 70 | 52 | 2 | 56 | 42 |
| TOTALS | | | 645 | 564 | 78 | | |

* This category includes such variations of Mexican Americans as Hispano, Chicano, Mexican, La Raza, Mexican-American and Spanish-American.

** This category includes those of Japanese and Italian-American surnames.

the thesis are geographical isolation, or geographical proximity to the dominant culture, and ethnic dominance, the proportion of Mexican Americans to Anglos in the particular population under study.

Geographical isolation was determined by asking the respondent to identify his place of residence in the following manner: (1) in a small city (2,500 to 25,000); (2) in a village (under 2,500); (3) in the country but non-farm; or (4) on a farm or ranch. It is predicted that those living in a small city will experience a lower ethnic cultural retention than those living in a village, on a farm, or in the country.

Ethnic dominance was calculated on the basis of the proportion of Mexican Americans to Anglos in each of the schools sampled. The percentage of Mexican Americans in each school was obtained and the percentages were categorized as follows: (1) Low dominance was assigned to those schools having less than 40 percent Mexican Americans in their total enrollment; (2) Medium dominance was assigned to those schools having between 40 and 60 percent Mexican American enrollment; and (3) High dominance was assigned to those schools having a Mexican American enrollment higher than 60 percent. The effects of these two variables on the other variables and their interactions were tested by means of 2-way analysis of variance.

Ethnic cultural retention

As mentioned previously in Chapter II, language and religion were chosen as indicators of the degree of ethnic cultural retention. The primary concern with the language variable lies in the determination of how often Spanish is used in the home and how it is rated in terms of language preference. The concern with the religion variable is focused

on the determination of what religion is followed and the importance that is placed on religion in everyday life. For purposes of analysis, questions concerning these two variables were combined and an index was constructed. The questions used in the index construction may be found in the Appendix.

The following procedure was used to construct the retention index. To begin with, respondents were selected out on the basis of whether or not Spanish was spoken. If Spanish was not spoken, respondents were assigned a value of "0" and scores on the five language questions which concerned language preference, language taught first, language used in home, and language used in reading were not summed. If Spanish was spoken, scores on the five language questions were summed with the highest possible score being "5". Secondly, respondents were selected out on the basis of whether or not they were Catholic. If they were not Catholic, respondents were again assigned a "0" and their scores on the three questions which concerned participation in religious activities and the importance of religion were not summed. If they were Catholic, scores on the three religion questions were summed with the highest possible score being "3". One further question was used in computing the summated score. This question concerned the surnames of the respondent's friends. If the respondent had three or more Spanish surnamed friends, they were assigned a score of "1". A total sum on each respondent was then computed with the final values ranging from "0" to "9". The sum score was then dicotomized at the median and an item analysis was computed. As Table II indicates, all items were significant.

"Table II about here"

Table II

ITEM ANALYSIS OF ETHNIC CULTURE RETENTION VARIABLES

| ITEM* | CHI SQUARE** |
|---|---|
| 1 Religion | 86.44 |
| 2 Participation in Religious Activities | 16.39 |
| 3 Importance of Religion | 23.32 |
| 4 Language | 178.32 |
| 5 Language Preference | 76.51 |
| 6 Language Taught First | 44.26 |
| 7 Language Used in Home | 162.96 |
| 8 Reading Materials | 96.04 |
| 9 Surnames of Friends | 71.50 |

* All items have one degree of freedom.

** All items are significant at the .001 level.

Self concept

Self concept refers generally to an individual's perception of his general worth and his ability to be successful in his endeavors. The more positive the self image, the more positive is his perception of his general worth and ability; in other words, the higher his level of self confidence. The questions by which self concept was operationalized are listed below.

1. "I feel useless at times."
2. "I take a positive attitude toward myself."
3. "I wish I could have more respect for myself."
4. "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others."
5. "I am able to do most things as well as other people can."
6. "At times I think I am no good at all."

Each respondent was presented with the six items and was asked to specify the strength of his agreement or disagreement with each item. Responses range from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" and were weighted as follows. Three questions were rated "0" for strongly agree, "1" for agree, "2" for undecided, "3" for disagree, and "4" for strongly disagree while the other three questions were rated the reverse: "0" for strongly disagree to "4" for strongly agree. These categories were then collapsed into a dicotomous form using the percentage pattern of distribution per item as indicated in Table III. A check on the dicotomous form was performed by computing an item analysis. As Table IV

"Table III about here"

indicates, all items were significant.

"Table IV about here"

Table III

PATTERN BASIS FOR DICOTOMIZING SELF CONCEPT ITEMS

| Schedule | Patterning Basis For Dicotomizing Items | |
|---|---|---|
| | Agree (1) | Disagree (0) |
| 5 | 16% | 84% |
| 3 | 37% | 63% |
| 1 | 40% | 60% |
| 2 | 56% | 44% |
| 6 | 63% | 37% |
| 4 | 81% | 19% |

Table IV

ITEM ANALYSIS OF VARIABLES USED IN THE SELF CONCEPT SCALE

| ITEM* | CHI SQUARE** |
|---|---|
| 1 | 146.97 |
| 2 | 199.50 |
| 3 | 71.59 |
| 4 | 68.23 |
| 5 | 37.74 |
| 6 | 219.06 |

* All items have one degree of freedom.

** All items are significant at the .001 level.

Following Edwards' (1957) procedure, a Guttman scale was developed and seven scale types were established. These scale types were given scores of "0" to "6" with the lower scale scores reflecting a relatively negative self image while the higher scale scores reflect a relatively positive self image. The coefficient of reproducibility was .8005 while the minimum marginal reproducibility was .6801. The summated scores were then used as specific indices of self concept.

Level of aspirations

Rather than try to measure the Mexican-American's general level of aspiration, it was decided to take only one aspect of the overall concept, level of occupational aspirations. Haller and Miller's conception of occupational aspiration as being the prestige dimension of the stratification system places occupations along a continuum from low to high prestige. In this way, then, a respondent's level of occupational aspiration refers to his orientation toward the prestige dimension of the stratification system. The original Haller and Miller scale consists of an eight item scale with ten occupations listed in each item. One modification was introduced into this scale in that respondents were asked to pick a first and second choice on each item. This modification was made by Dr. Emmit F. Sharp who felt that this modification would produce a more complete and reliable sampling of the respondent's level of occupational aspiration.

A summated score was obtained for all respondents on all sixteen (reflecting both the first and second choices) items and the values on the scale had a possible range from "8" to "136." This summated score then became the index of the level of occupational aspirations.

World view

Using Shannon's (1968) conceptualization, world view refers to "a person's perception of his own manipulative power versus the organization of the society or some more powerful determinant, his time perspective as oriented toward the present versus the future, and his hierarchy of values that places individual achievement against ties to the group." The questions used to operationalize world view are listed below.

1. "Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of moving away from your family."
2. "The secret of happiness is not expecting too much and being content with what comes your way."
3. "The best job to have is one where you are part of a group all working together, even if you don't get much individual credit."
4. "Planning only makes a person unhappy, since your plans hardly work out anyway."
5. "Nowadays, with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself."
6. "Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of moving away from your friends."
7. "When a man is born, the success he is going to have is not already in the cards; each makes his own fate."

Each respondent was presented with the seven items and was asked to specify the strength of his disagreement or agreement on each item. The responses were rated as follows on six items: "0" for strongly agree, "1" for agree, "2" for undecided, "3" for disagree, and "4" for strongly disagree. The seventh item was rated the reverse, "0" for strongly disagree, etc. These categories were then collapsed into dicotomous form using the percentage pattern of distribution shown in Table V.

"Table V about here"

The most difficult item has the least number agreeing with it. A sum score was obtained for each respondent and then dicotomized at the median. Item analysis was performed on the variables used in the world view scale. As Table VI shows, all items were significant. A Guttman

"Table VI about here"

scale was then developed following Edwards' procedure. Eight scale types were established and were ranked from "0" to "7". The higher the scale type, the more active the world view would be.

The coefficient of reproducibility was .7567 and the minimum marginal reproducibility was .6891 and it was decided to use the summated scores as an index of world view.

Table V

PATTERN BASIS FOR DICOTOMIZING WORLD VIEW ITEMS

| Schedule Item Number | Patterning Basis For Dicotomizing Items | |
|---|---|---|
| | Agree (1) | Disagree (0) |
| 4 | 19% | 81% |
| 2 | 34% | 66% |
| 3 | 53% | 47% |
| 1 | 60% | 40% |
| 5 | 66% | 34% |
| 6 | 72% | 28% |
| 7 | 84% | 16% |

Table VI

ITEM ANALYSIS OF VARIABLES USED IN WORLD VIEW SCALE

| ITEM* | CHI SQUARE** |
|---|---|
| 1 | 143.67 |
| 2 | 99.99 |
| 3 | 90.44 |
| 4 | 42.39 |
| 5 | 102.15 |
| 6 | 113.53 |
| 7 | 20.02 |

* All items have one degree of freedom.

** All items are significant at the .001 level.

## CHAPTER IV

## ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter presents the results of the statistical manipulations of the data insofar as they pertain to the hypotheses formulated.

### Acculturational Opportunities and Ethnic Cultural Retention

Two hypotheses were concerned with the influence of acculturational opportunities on ethnic cultural retention and are recapitulated below.

1. There will be a positive relationship between geographical isolation and ethnic cultural retention within the Mexican-American group.

2. There will be a positive relationship between ethnic dominance and ethnic cultural retention within the Mexican-American group.

Table VII provides a breakdown of the Mexican-American sample into classifications of geographic isolation as indexed by residence.

**Table VII**

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

| Code | Residence | Frequency* | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | Farm/ranch | 121 | 18 |
| 1 | Country/nonfarm | 91 | 14 |
| 2 | Village | 94 | 14 |
| 3 | Small city | 361 | 54 |
| Total | | 667 | 100 |

* Due to nonresponse on certain items, the final N varies slightly from the above N.

Table VIII provides a breakdown of the Mexican-American sample into classifications of ethnic dominance as indexed by the proportion of Mexican-Americans in each of the schools sampled. The sample was divided into three groups representing low, medium and high proportions of Mexican-Americans.

**Table VIII**

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
OF RESPONDENTS BY PROPORTION IN TOTAL
POPULATION OF SCHOOL

| Code | Category | Frequency* | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Low (24%-39%) | 171 | 25.5 |
| 2 | Medium (40%-59%) | 325 | 49.0 |
| 3 | High (60%-97%) | 171 | 25.5 |
| Total | | 667 | 100.0 |

* Due to nonresponse on certain items, the final N varies slightly from the above N.

Tables IX and X present a summary of findings concerning the two hypotheses mentioned above.

**Table IX**

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
Geographical Isolation and Ethnic Cultural Retention

| Category | N | $\bar{X}$ |
|---|---|---|
| Farm/Ranch | 102 | 4.66 |
| Country/nonfarm | 78 | 4.14 |
| Village | 85 | 4.08 |
| Small city | 322 | 3.67 |
| Total | 587 | |

Etz = .20 $p < .001$

Table X

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
Ethnic Dominance and Ethnic Cultural Retention

| Category | N | $\bar{X}$ |
|---|---|---|
| low | 155 | 4.01 |
| medium | 287 | 3.54 |
| high | 145 | 4.75 |
| Total | 587 | |

Eta = .20 $p < .001$

As Tables IX and X indicate, the probability of both relationships of this magnitude occurring by chance is less than .001, resulting in the acceptance of both hypotheses. This finding indicates that there is a low but meaningful positive relationship between geographical isolation and ethnic cultural retention as well as between ethnic dominance and ethnic cultural retention. Two way classificational analysis of variance failed to show any significant interactions between ethnic dominance and geographical isolation, therefore it is assumed that these variables work independently of one another in affecting ethnic cultural retention.

## Ethnic Cultural Retention and Mobility Orientations

The major hypothesis formulated concerning ethnic cultural retention and mobility orientations are as follows:

3. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and mobility orientations within the Mexican-American group.

In order to test this hypothesis, it was necessary to perform statistical manipulations on three sub-hypotheses, each of which

concerned a separate mobility orientation. These three sub-hypotheses are recapitulated below.

3a. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and self concept within the Mexican-American group.

3b. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and world view within the Mexican-American group.

3c. There will be a negative relationship between ethnic cultural retention and level of occupational aspirations within the Mexican-American group.

Table XI provides a summary of findings of the above three sub-hypotheses.

Table XI

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS (CONT'D)

| Hypothesis Number | Variables Correlated with Ethnic Cultural Retention | Pearsonian | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3a | Self Concept | .0819 | .027 |
| 3b | World View | -.0504 | n.s. |
| 3c | Level of Occupational Aspirations | -.0871 | .020 |

It can be seen from Table XI that two of the three sub-hypotheses were rejected. Although the relationship between ethnic cultural retention and self concept was significant, it did not occur in the direction suggested by the theory and therefore was rejected. The relationship between ethnic cultural retention and world view occurred in the direction predicted but it was not significant and consequently was also rejected. The relationship between ethnic cultural retention and level of occupational aspirations, while significant, explains very little of the variance. Given the above results then, it is concluded that ethnic

cultural retention has little direct effect on mobility orientations and, consequently, the main hypothesis was also rejected.

Acculturational Opportunities and Mobility Orientations

Although no specific hypotheses were formulated concerning the influence acculturational opportunities exerts on mobility orientations, several statistical manipulations were performed to ascertain if there was a direct relationship between geographical isolation and/or ethnic dominance and mobility orientations.

Of the three mobility orientations tested by means of two-way analysis of variance, only world view was shown to be affected by geographic isolation ($f = 2.5147$, $p < .06$). However, the significance was marginal and not in the direction expected.

Ethnic dominance was shown through two-way analysis of variance to affect the level of occupational aspirations ($f = 4.0453$, $p < .018$) but not in the direction suggested by the theory. Analysis of variance also revealed that ethnic dominance and geographical isolation together marginally affected ($f = 1.9259$, $p < .0745$) self concept. This finding combined with the finding that there is a positive relationship between ethnic cultural retention and self concept raises the question as to whether self image may become more positive due to limited interaction with the dominant group rather than more negative as a result of limited interaction as the theory suggests.

In sum then, the above findings indicate that the level of mobility orientations of the Mexican-American group was not accounted for to any significant extent by either geographical isolation or ethnic dominance although manipulations did indicate that geographical isolation does

have some observable effect on self concept and level of occupational aspirations.

## CHAPTER V

## ACCULTURATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND ETHNIC CULTURAL RETENTION

The theoretical orientation, as presented in this thesis, posits that the more geographically isolated the Mexican-Americans are from the dominant culture and the higher the proportions they assume of the total population in the area where they reside, the more they will tend to retain their traditional cultural values rather than assume the cultural values of the dominant group. This orientation received some support in that we found a low but meaningful relationship between first, geographical isolation and ethnic cultural retention, and second, between ethnic dominance and ethnic cultural retention.

This finding lends further support to the idea that socialization within groups tends to preserve the values of those groups and reinforces their overall class standing in society. Because the Mexican-Americans in this study are isolated to a great extent from the mainstream of the dominant culture and because their numbers are high in the population of the area where they reside, the way of life they lead is continually reinforced by others around them. This way of life provides a contrast with the urban residing Mexican-Americans whose everyday life involves constant interaction with the dominant culture and therefore brings with it a greater awareness of the discrepancies between the traditional cultural values that their people have long held and the dominant American ethos. To the rural residing Mexican-Americans in southern Colorado then, the dominant culture does not permeate their everyday lives thus

encouraging a more complete socialization into the traditional cultural values rather than the dominant values.

One must be cautious, however, in exerting that geographical isolation and ethnic dominance alone are influential in determining whether the traditional culture will be retained. Literature in the field also supports the notion that it is increasing social differentiation, which brings with it increasing primary relationships outside the original group and exposure to other styles of life, that affect the retention of traditional values. One may choose then to posit that it is the Mexican-Americans' lack of social differentiation which is responsible for a high retention of traditional cultural values rather than the demographic fact that they are geographically isolated and are in the majority population-wise. Or it may be that isolation and dominance reinforce the lack of social differentiation among the rural Mexican-American group which then in turn reinforces retention of traditional values.

One other caution must be exerted in that one must be careful in assuming that ethnic dominance connotes ethnic homogeneity. It is possible for an aggregate of people to be living in close proximity and yet not experience a consciousness of kind and sense of spiritual community. In this thesis we have assumed for the most part that ethnic dominance is at least a crude indicator of spiritual homogeneity but the implications of doing so must be made explicit.

## Ethnic Cultural Retention and Mobility Orientations

Also, according to theories developed in this thesis, persons identifiable by their behaviors as being more traditionally Mexican American in culture were expected to view themselves more negatively, look at

the world as a controlling force rather than something to be controlled and not to be strongly oriented toward the prestige dimension of the stratification system. Empirical observation did not support this theory and it was concluded that retention of ethnic culture had little direct effect on mobility orientations.

This thesis has tested for the existence of linkages between variables generally considered to be related to acculturational opportunities and the degree of ethnic cultural retention on the one hand and between ethnic cultural retention and certain mobility orientation variables on the other hand. The analysis gives moderate support for the first linkage but little if any for the second linkage. These results call into question the validity of the cultural explanation for lower achievement levels of Mexican-Americans, at least to the extent that they share cultural traits which negatively influence mobility orientations. These findings are consistent with those of Merkin (1972), Delgado (1970), and Kuvlesky (1968, 1971) who also found that ethnicity per se did not affect to a great extent mobility aspirations of the Mexican-American group.

The above findings suggest the possibility that acculturation of the Mexican-Americans is selective in nature. In other words, the Mexican-Americans may have accepted the values concerned with high achievement and recognize the desirability of rewards, but because they have poor educational opportunities and lack affluence, they experience certain obstacles in reaching the desired occupations. The failure to find differences in ethnicity does not, per se, rule out the possibility that the culture may influence achievement, merely that it does not do so through the intermediate step of negatively influenced mobility orientations. Although the value held may be consistent with achievement, the

group may still follow life styles which are inconsistent with higher levels of achievement.

## Limitations

Another explanation for our lack of findings may possibly be found by considering the limitations in our techniques of sampling and measurement. Because our sample was selective and only included those persons who were relatively isolated from the dominant culture and lived in relatively socio-economically homogeneous areas, a sample which would include a broader range of social environments may have given somewhat different results.

Also, our selection of high school students for inclusion in the study may also have influenced the results of our study. High school students are at the end of the secondary socialization process which has given them a broader exposure to the values of the dominant culture than would be the case if children of all age categories would have been included. Because of this, their mobility orientations may in turn be more consistent with those of the dominant culture.

It is also possible that we have failed to accurately measure ethnic cultural retention. In other words, language and religion may in fact not be accurate indicators of ethnic cultural retention, that in order to measure the concept we would have to measure instead attitudes toward cultural values held, participation in traditional customs, and social networks revolving around those who do or do not subscribe to the traditional cultural values.

Further research is indicated in the general area of mobility orientations insofar as they are related to class standing. It may well be

as some research has indicated that class is more influential in determining mobility orientations than ethnicity. It also may be that class and ethnicity work together in influencing the mobility orientations of the Mexican-Americans.

Also, the world view and self concept were developed and standardized for other populations and so undoubtedly their use in the present context entails some loss of precision. While component items were shown to be discriminate by item analysis techniques, Guttman analysis indicated neither to meet minimum standards required by that technique.

# APPENDIX

# APPENDIX

## INDICATORS AND SCALES

### I. Ethnicity

1. Each respondent's surname served to designate ethnic membership.

2. Which of the following terms would you prefer to use in describing yourself?

_____ Hispano
_____ Italian-American
_____ Black
_____ Negro
_____ Japanese-American
_____ Mexican
_____ La Raza
_____ Anglo
_____ Chicano
_____ Spanish-American
_____ American
_____ Mexican-American
_____ Other (Specify) _____

### II. Ethnic Cultural Retention

1. What is your religion?

_____ Protestant
_____ Catholic
_____ Other (Specify) _____

2. How often do you participate in church services and other religious activities?

_____ Very often
_____ Fairly often
_____ Rarely
_____ Don't participate

3. How do you feel about this statement: "Religion to me is very important, even though I may not participate in religious activities"?

_____ Strongly agree

_____ Agree

_____ Neither agree nor disagree

_____ Disagree

_____ Strongly disagree

4. Do you speak any language other than English?

_____ Yes

_____ No

5. What is this language? _____

6. Do you prefer to use this language rather than English?

_____ Yes

_____ No

7. Which language were you taught to speak first?

_____ English first

_____ Other language first

_____ Both at the same time

8. Is this language used in your home?

_____ Frequently

_____ Occasionally

_____ Never

9. Do you read newspapers in this language?

_____ Frequently

_____ Occasionally

_____ Never

## III. Level of Occupational Aspirations

1. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN GET when your FORMAL EDUCATION IS OVER: rank one (1) most sure, rank two (2) next sure.

2. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you would choose to have when your FORMAL EDUCATION IS OVER if you were FREE TO CHOOSE ANY of them you wished: rank one (1) first choice, rank two (2) second choice.

3. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN GET when your FORMAL EDUCATION IS OVER: rank (1) most sure, rank two (2) next sure.

4. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you would choose to have when your FORMAL EDUCATION IS OVER if you were FREE TO CHOOSE ANY of them you wished: rank one (1) first choice, rank two (2) second choice.

5. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN HAVE when you are 30 YEARS OLD: rank one (1) most sure, rank two (2) next sure.

6. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you would choose to have when you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them you wished: rank one (1) first choice, rank two (2) second choice.

7. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN HAVE when you are 30 YEARS OLD: rank one (1) most sure, rank two (2) next sure.

8. Of the jobs listed in this question, rank the TWO BEST JOBS you would choose to have when you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them you wished: rank one (1) first choice, rank two (2) second choice.

Responses were scored on the basis of the Haller and Miller scale.

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